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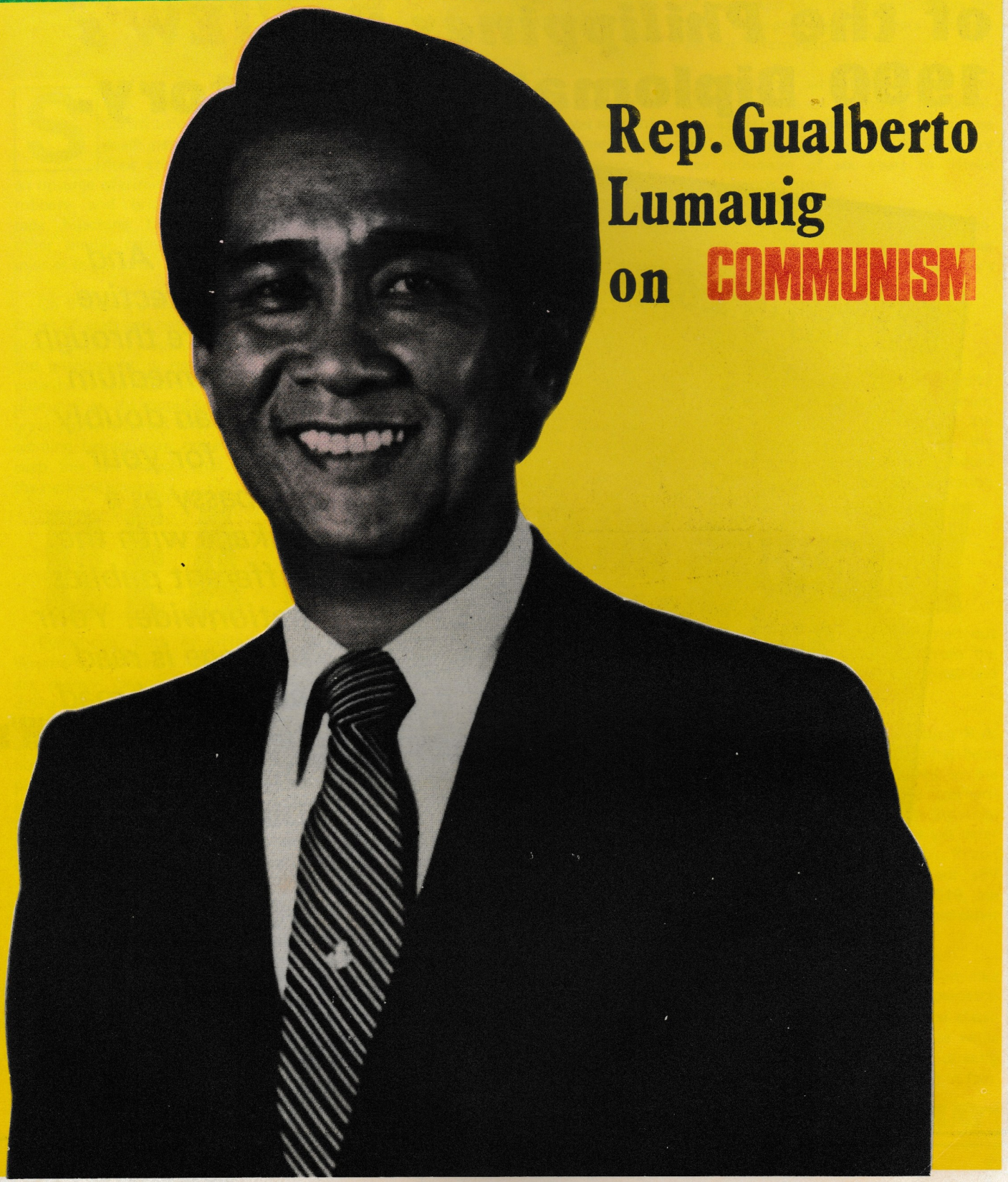

Rep. Gualberto Lumauig on COMMUNISM

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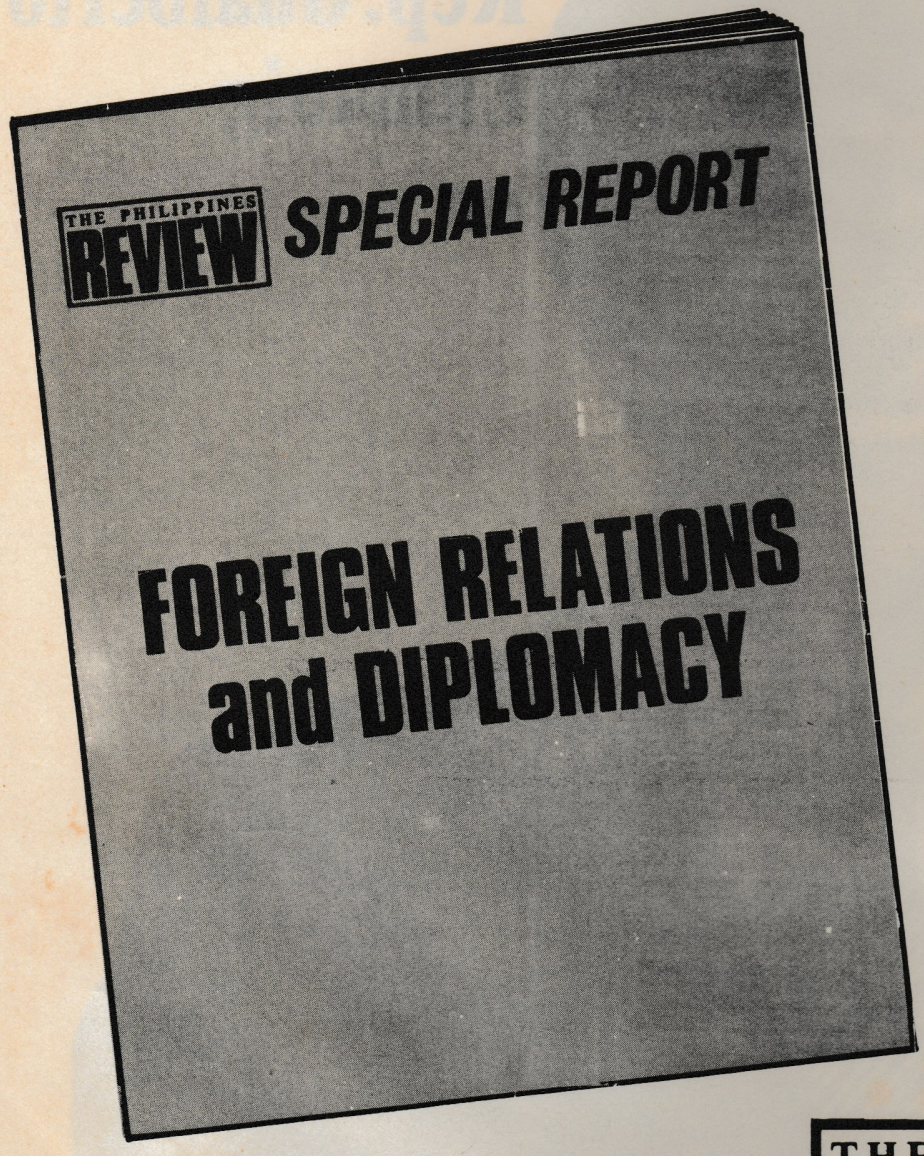

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REVIEW

DEATH PENALTY

We can only eliminate big-time crimes and graft if we exterminate all rotten eggs, according to a Hitler-style of solving undesirable acts and problems. But the big question is that will Cory and the Senate cooperate?

Since the 1987 Philippine Constitution abolished the death penalty except for heinous crimes, there has been an upsurge of criminality: murders, armed robbery and brigandage, kidnappings, rape, hijacking, highway robbery, and other similar crimes causing death and injuries to persons.

On the other hand, the escalating incidence of graft and corruption to alarming proportions in scope and magnitude in the government is resulting in the popularity of the Aquino administration to plummet as the populace is now being gravely disenchanted with the President's seeming helplessness, rather, inability to curb this evil malady that has strained the national economy.

Everybody, both in private and government — and even in religious - circles are merely paying lip service without doing anything tangible to eradicate graft and corruption. Even those who are supposed to protect the people are now the ones themselves murdering and plundering the people they are supposed to serve and protect. For reported fantabulous fees, law-enforcers have now become lawbreakers by protecting whom they are mandated by law to apprehend.

On the other hand, during the past years, several privately owned and even government banks were closed down by the Central Bank's Monetary Board for alleged insolvency, among them the Manila Bank, Banco Pilipino, the Pacific Bank, the Philippine Veteran Bank, and the PISO Development Bank along with several Rural Banks throughout the country. These bank closures adversely affected millions of depositors and their billions of pesos of deposits.

Graft and corruption has become a cancerous growth since this was brought into the Philippines by our former colonizers, both Spanish and American. Efforts by the previous administrations to stamp out this negative aspect from our government has not been successful even with the enactment in 1960 of Republic Act No. 3019, otherwise known as the Anti-Graft and Corrupt Practices Law, as amended.

Based on existing circumstances - the prevalence of graft and corruption both in government and in private circles - R.A. 3019 is a complete failure. It has not deterred commission of graft by corrupt officials and personnel. On the contrary, it has even emboldened serious violations because the law is, for all intents and purposes, TOOTHLESS.

The Tanodbayan and the Sandiganbayan were created during the Marcos regime to exclusively prosecute and try corruption cases, but unfortunately, even these institutions cannot deter scalawags from prostituting their oaths of office as public servants.

It is true the Sandiganbayan has sent to jail many government officials and employees but they belonged only to the very small fry or lower levels, and this has in fact been decried by Speaker Ramon Mitra, Jr., who cried once in desperation, "The government still has to convict big grafters!" "What about the big fishes?"

During a recent speech at the Manila Bay Breakfast Club (MBBC) Senator Juan Ponce Enrile admitted that corruption during his Boss' (Marcos) 20 years' regime is peanuts compared to the extent of corruption that has been going on the past three-and-one-half years of the Aquino government.

Whereupon, an MBBC member broached the idea of amending the penalties stipulated in R.A. 3019 to increase the penalties from the stipulated a very low minimum of six years to fifteen years' imprisonment.

"What is six to fifteen years' imprisonment to a government crook who has stolen millions or even billions of people's money?"

"So, what do you propose?"

Increase the minimum penalty to 15 years to a maximum of death depending on the circumstances, and if the death penalty is imposed, there should be no parole, pardon, nor commutation of sentence which must be carried out by musketry within 60 days from the date the convictions become final and executory."

House Bill No. 19402 repealing R.A. 3019, and other anti-graft laws has been sent to the Senate and referred to the Senate Committee on Ethics and privileges headed by Senator Rene Saguisag, but this propcsed law will not yet deter corruption in the government. Prison terms for convicted grafters are still the same as those of R.A. 3019, six to fifteeen years imprisonment and other sanctions.

Large-scale graft and corruption, like the massive types of plunder perpetrated by the last regime should be classified as *HEINOUS* crimes because while graft and corruption does not directly kill people, it kills the economy; in fact,

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ENRILE

Senator Juan Ponce Enrile has charged in a luncheon speech that graft and corruption under the Aquino government is worse than those during the Marcos regime.

it is a high, technical form of economic sabotage which drains the national economy.

Speaker Mitra estimates that about FORTY PERCENT (40%) of the national budget could be lost to graft-ridden and corrupt, wasteful offices in the government. (*Manila Bulletin, October 17, 1989*.)

Unless the Aquino government undertakes very drastic measures including the imposition of heavy penalties like 15 years to death on grafters to eliminate graft and corruption, the Philippines, sooner than we think, may find itself in a scenario similar to what has happened to Nigeria, a black African country.

Massive graft and corruption, on two instances, has bled Nigeria dry as its national treasury had been emptied of $5 billion prompting its military in 1966 to topple and take over its civil government.

The military junta then quickly arrested the President and other top officials who were all subsequently meted out "swift justice".

We also remember that graft and corruption was a major factor that caused the downfall in 1949 of the Nationalist Chinese government in Mainland China, and the Chinese Reds drove out Chiang Kai Shek to Taiwan.

In Australia, the highest penalty imposed on grafters is life imprisonment. According to the Australian Embassy in Makati, "in recent times a number of celebrated cases, including that of a police commissioner, have shown that even those in powerful positions are not immune from prosecution and jailing for life."

In 1980, 37 states of the United States had laws that permitted the death penalty. But, these laws were greatly influenced by a 1972 decision of the US Supreme Court which banned the death penalty as it was then imposed. The Court ruled that the death penalty imposition and execution was cruel and unusual punishment in violation of the Eight Amendment to the Constitution. But the US SC left open the possibility that the death penalty might be constitutional if imposed for certain crimes and applied uniformly.

After the 1972 decision, many state legislatures passed new death laws to satify the SC's requirements. Most laws limit the death penalty to murder and other crimes if they result in a person's death. The crimes include armed robbery, hijacking, and kidnapping. The laws of several states specify the circumstances under which a judge or jury may impose the death penalty, while a court ruled that death for murder was "not unconstitutionally severe".

BANK MALVERSATIONS

Central Bank figures indicate that a total of 3,953,224 accounts, both individual and corporate, with a total of P1,522 billion in savings and current accounts were badly affected in 114 closed banks.

According to the CB, bank troubles and failures were caused by unsound and deceitful practices (fraud) of bank officials themselves, and the malpractices included:

1. Bank officials, including, but not limited to members of boards of directors, give huge loans to themselves, to their relatives by affinity or consaguinity to the 3rd degree, to their business associates' owned and or controlled entities or business firms in which these officers have direct or indirect financial interests. Usually, the collaterals offered are either worthless, being fake, or are grossly overvalued;

2. Inter-branch transfers of cash in excess of cash requirements of branches. Actually, however, no actual physical cash is transferred from the bank's main offices, but only in their books of accounts. The actual money is then utilized by some bank officers for personal purposes like investing in money markets or other business ventures. Naturally, if such personal ventures fail, then the money invested - usually depositors' money - is irretrievably lost;

3. Deliberate acceptance of insufficient or overvalued collaterals; and,

4. Non-entries in official bank records of deposits although depositors are given non-registered receipts. Woe to these gullible depositors if the bank are closed by the Central Bank because their deposits are not recognized, and, therefore, are not paid.

If we may say, therefore, a good majority of bank failures were caused by instances of their being technically robbed by their own officers.

And, because of that, scores of depositors who lost their deposits and, hence were left holding the proverbial empty bags, have wailed:

"What crime have we committed to merit punishment by unjust and illegal deprivation of our deposits in failed banks?"

LAWBREAKERS IN UNIFORM

Of late, there has been a complete breakdown of morals and discipline in

the ranks of military and police personnel who are, in the first place mandated by law to protect lives and property. Men in uniform have been committing broad daylight bank robberties,ambushing, and way-laying bank armored cars, killing people in the process and getting off with loots amounting to millions of pesos. The Clavio, BPI Bank and Boston Bank heists, are only three major cases allegedly involving military personnel.

And in places where they are supposed to apprehend law-breakers like gambling, smuggling and drug-traffic rings, corrupt and corrupted men in uniform now act as protectors of these illegal activities and the ganglords.

Threats and counter threats have been aired, investigations conducted, but nothing so far has been done, while the ringleaders are still scot-free.

Graft and corruption, public and private, and big-time crimes against the people and properties like smuggling, armed robberies, hijacking, kidnapping, and drug trafficking are, and must be considered as, heinous crimes to merit or warrant the imposition of the death penalty on the people behind, involved or abetting said crimes which, incidentally, destroy the country's economy and stability.

Hundreds of millions or billions of pesos in government funds and bank deposits have been lost to crooked government and bank officials and armed robbers in uniform, crimes that have contributed immensely to the erosion of faith, trust, and confidence of the people in the government and certain sectors of the banking system. These are forms of economic sabotage, crimes that wreck the country's economy and are directly contributory to the dangerous rise in insurgency.

Paying lip service towards the elimination of these crimes will not work. ***Death by musketry*** is the answer to the needs of the people in these troubled times.

A retired public school official, Mrs. Primitiva Manalo of the Philippine Normal College, some other members of the academe, and the religious, have cited

A socio-economic survey outfit has discovered that the Philippines' annual losses from graft and corruption average at P15 billion... But some insist that corruption money could reach P30 billion yearly.

the need for a serious reevaluation of the citizenry's moral values to effect necessary changes, but that may take several generations. In the meantime, will the government and the people just let all these criminal activities continue getting or exacting their toll in human lives and properties?

As a corollary measure, members of both government prosecution panels and the judiciary who knowingly conspire to acquit the accused despite overwhelming existence of prima facie evidence must be made to suffer the penalties that should have been imposed on the accused, any laws to the contrary notwithstanding.

To this end, Peoples' Juries or Tribunals could be set up to try the erring and scheming prosecutors and judiciary members so that, ultimately, all of these scoundrels and scalawags - the originally accused, prosecutors and the judges - could be jailed or be executed together.

HOUSE DEATH BILL

As a forcible reaction to the rising and mounting tide of criminality and lawlessness in the country, and the alarming incidence of violent crimes, the House of Representatives passed on May 3, 1988, H. Bill No. 295 declaring certain crimes as HEINOUS to warrant the reimposition of the death penalty as provided for in Section 19, Article III of the 1987 Philippine Constitution.

H. Bill No. 195 authored by 20 congressmen/women was sent to the Senate on May 6, 1988 and referred to the Committees on Constitutional Amendments, Revision of Codes & Laws, and on Justice & Human Rights headed by Senators Neptali Gonzales and Jose Lina Jr., respectively.

The proposed death law has been hibernating in said Committees despite the urgency for its enactment into law to cope with the rising incidence of violent crimes.

Proposed to be classified as heinous crimes punishable by life imprisonment to death are the following crimes:

Treason, murder, parricide, rape, kidnapping, robbery, piracy, carnapping, hijacking, arson, drug manufacture and trafficking.

Previously, the maximum penalty for all of the above crimes, depending on the attendant circumstances was death, but the 1987 Philippine Constitution abolished the death penalty except for heinous crimes, as follows:

> "x x x x neither shall death penalty be imposed, unless for compelling reasons involving heinous crimes, the Congress hereafter provides for it. Any penalty already imposed shall be reduced to *reclusion perpetua* (life sentence)." (*Sec. 30, Art. III*).

Now, what are heinous crimes?

The word *heinous* is described as: *odious,atrocious, extremely wicked, very bad, hateful, repulsive* (adj.).

Obviously, aside from the crimes of treason to arson, drug trafficking, robbery, etc. whose penalties of death are being revived through their classification by Congress as heinous crimes to merit the imposition of the death penalty, there is also a compelling necessity to classify as heinous large scale graft and corruption, bank malversations, and other very serious crimes. The latter category of crimes destroy the national economy and the nation's morals, and are highly scandalous.

It is discomforting to learn that for almost two (2) years now, the Senate

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LAWS & COURTS

8 - 7 Vote against return of FM

The body of the late Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos may have to be permanently buried in Honolulu...

Voting 8-7, the Supreme Court turned down the motion of the Marcoses and upheld the stand of President Corazon Aquino that their return and the burial of the remains of Marcos in the country pose serious threats to national security.

In an en banc resolution, the high court denied the motion of the Marcoses seeking to reverse its Sept. 15 decision rejecting their petition to compel the government to issue them travel documents.

The president expressed her satisfaction over the Supreme Court ruling and called on the people to work together and concentrate on solving the nation's problems.

"I am glad that the motion for reconsideration filed by Marcos' lawyers was denied by the Supreme Court, thereby sustaining the government's stand that even the return of Marcos' remains could adversely affect national security and interest," the president said in a press statement.

"Let us now concentrate on solving the remaining problems of our nation and together work for development and economic growth, as one people sharing one vision for the common good," she continued.

Chief Justice Marcelo Fernan said it is up to the lawyers of the Marcoses to decide whether they would file a second motion for reconsideration.

Under the rules, Fernan said, a party may file a second motion for reconsideration but this time with leave or permission of the Court.

"Should they fail to raise new issues in the motion, the Marcos lawyers can no longer file a second motion. A second motion for reconsideration is no longer considered a matter of right," Fernan said.

The chief justice, Justices Andres Narvasa, Ameurfina Melencio Herrera, Emilio Gancayco, Irene Cortes, Carolina Grino Aquino, Leo Medialdea, and Florenz Regalado concurred with the resolution.

Justices Isagani Cruz, Edgardo Paras, Teodoro Padilla, Abraham Sarmiento, Hugo Gutierrez, Florentino Feliciano, and Abdulwahid Bidin dissented.

Last Sept. 15, the Supreme Court dismissed the petition of the Marcoses and affirmed the decision of Mrs. Aquino to ban their return.

On Oct. 2, Marcos' lawyers led by Arturo Tolentino and Estelito Mendoza asked the high tribunal to reconsider its ruling. Solicitor General Francisco Chavez opposed the motion.

In denying the motion, the Supreme Court said the "threats to the government, to which the return of the Marcoses has been viewed to have a catalytic effect, have not been shown to have ceased."

The Supreme Court noted that Mrs. Marcos only reinforced the basis for the decision to bar the return of the Marcos family when she branded Mrs. Aquino as "illegal," claiming that it is her late husband who is the "legal president of the Philippines" and declaring that this case "should be brought to all courts of the world."

The high tribunal said Mrs. Aquino has "instated" or hidden residual powers, implied from the grant of executive power to the president necessary for her to fulfill her duties under the Constitution.

The high tribunal brushed aside the argument of Marcos lawyers that Mrs. Aquino had no power to impair the right of Marcos to return in the interest of national security and general welfare.

The high court pointed out that the powers of the president are not limited to what are expressedly enumerated by the Constitution despite the intention of the 1986 Constitutional Commission to diminish the authority of the chief executive to prevent similar abuses committed by the Marcos regime.

The high court disregarded the view that a recognition of the president's residual powers may set the stage for another dictatorship.

"Despite petitioners' strained analogy, the residual powers of the president under the 1973 Constitution to legislate pursuant to Amendment 6," the Supreme Court said.

Amendment 6 allowed Marcos to govern by decrees, letters of instructions and executive orders whenever the defunct Batasan was not in session.

DEATH PENALTY

has been sleeping on its job to help cleanse our nation of the evils bedeviling it.

The Gonzales and Lina Committees to which H. Bill 295 was referred to would do well to act on it fast, and to amend the bill by including the abovementioned crimes as heinous. Peace and order enforcement authorities who give support to all these nefarious activities should be meted the same penalties as those of the principal malefactors.

House Bill 19402 needs amendments to make it responsive to the clamor and needs of the citizenry by increasing the penalties for graft from a minimum of only six to fifteeen years imprisonment to a minimum of fiteen years' imprisonment to a maximum of death by musketry 60 days from the date the conviction becomes final and executory with no commutation of sentence, parole, nor pardon. Definitely harsh, it, nervertheless, must be included in the proposed law.

Time is of the essence and is running out fast. Certainly, the government, especially Congress must act fast to eliminate and exterminate all the scoundrels and scalawags in our present decadent society. The House has done its part through H. Bills Nos. 295 and 19402.

The damned question: Will the Senate do its job on this? AND, will President Aquino approve these bills that will ultimately eliminate or exterminate all the rotten eggs in her administration?

COMMUNISM

An ideology going out of fad

It is a truism to the advantage of mankind that only fools do not change their minds. In no instance is this more applicable than on the subject at hand.

"Amendment 6 refers to an express grant of power. It is not implied. Then, Amendment 6 refers to a grant to the president of the specific power of legislation," the Supreme Court said.

It said the duties of the president to protect and promote the interest and welfare of the people complies with her decision to bar the Marcos family and the remains of the late president.

Justice Cruz, Paras, Padilla, and Sarmiento issued separate dissenting opinions.

Cruz said: "This is a temptest in a teapot. We have more important things to do than debating over corpse that deserves no kinder fate than dissolution and oblivion. I say let it be brought home and buried deep and let us be done with it forever."

Paras said until now the threats to national security have remained "unproved and, consequently, unpersuasive." In fact, he said, if the remains are not allowed to be buried in the country, more trouble may be expected.

Padilla said the right of a Filipino to be buried in his country is part of a "continuing right" that starts from birth and ends only on the day he is finally laid to rest in his country.

Padilla voted to allow Marcos to be buried in the country subject to conditions that may be imposed by the government in the interest of peace and order.

Sarmiento said President Aquino has no power to deny the requests of Marcos relatives to bury Marcos in his homeland.

"As for the former, let them get their just desserts here, too. And let the matter rest," Sarmiento said. S

For the saga of communism, which, to be fair, has its shares of hearoes and martyrs, particularly in times of struggle against even more evil forces - fascism, for example - that saga is more distinguished, however, for the vast number of good and decent men who have abandoned the creed in disenchantment, disillusionment, and despair.

The first dramatic desertions occurred in the Nineteen Thirties, towards the conclusion of the Spanish Civil War, in which leading intellectuals and writers served in the Republican cause. That cause was cynically betrayed by the first communist state in the world, Soviet Russia, which had announced some two decades earlier, 'the total recasting of mankind.' Of the leading intellectuals and writers who saw behind the mask of communism, we number Arthur Koestler, Ignazio Silone,and Howard Fast, who with others, wrote their experiences under the title, *The God That Failed.*

Apart from the betrayal of the Spanish cause, there were also the Moscow Trials, in which hundreds of innocent people and firm believers in communism were tortured,convicted and sentenced to die.

From this early unmasking, Koestler wrote his famous book, then later translated into a moving play called *Darkness At Noon.* With Silone and Fast, there was the realization that party leaders were arbitrary, paranoid with power, and ruthless,their professions for the oppressed masses nothing more than platitudes.

Still, for some years more, there were still prominent men of goodwill, of brilliant intellect, even genius, who kept faith with communism and even the communist parties. Picasso's name comes to mind. And there were the existentialist philosopher and writer, the Nobel Laureate Jean Paul Sartre, as well as another writer and Nobel Laureate Albert Camus. But with the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution in the Fifties, these stalwarts broke their ties, tenuous as they were, with communism and admiration for Russia. Earlier, after another

VIEWS

The Author, Rep. Gualberto Lumauig, is a former newsman, public relations practitioner and governor of Ifugao. He is the author of the controversial Philippine-Taiwan Trade Relations Act.

look at Soviet Russia, another Nobel Laureate Andre Gide, confessed his disillusionment with communism.

These were men of influence in the world of thought. Communism, with its exalted solidarity with the working masses and the oppressed classes, should have been able to keep their allegiance. But deceit and the cynical manipulation of the human person repelled them.

In more recent times, the works of Pasternak, Solzhenitsyn, the persecution of Sakharov, the official revelations about the Stalinist era, the invasions of Czechoslovakia and later Afghanistan, have obliterated the residual moral force of communism as the hope of the masses. The deviation of Yugoslavia, the resurgence of Hungary; and the rise of Solidarity in Poland, all attest, in different periods, the moral and political disiullusionment with the totalitarian doctrine.

The wonder is that there have not been more. Or, perhaps, the explanation lies in the fact that so many testaments have been lost through suppression. But there are enough, from the Captive Mind of Czeslaw Miloz to the many novels of Milan Kundera. In contrast, none of the State-approved works of literature and history have merited the close consideration and open admiration of the world.

There is hardly any major literary work, hardly any documentation, coming out of the Imperium which gives it a

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good name.

Communism, as the activist aspect of Marxism, has run out of spokesmen either within its borders or in the Western world. There remain bright and even brilliant Marxist theoreticians, but they are hardly formidable spokesmen of communism. That role is left to party officials whose words find no echo of agreement among the intellectuals and thinkers of our times.

The war against the totalitarian doctrine has been won in the minds of men who once were lured by it.

But if the philosophy and theory has been won on the side of freedom, communism still manages to lure thousands in the Third World as a technique of power. It is the revolutionary element that contains communism's dangerous seduction.

The seduction is even more desperate because of the "new thinking" in communist countries, perestroika and glasnost, which, at bottom, is a confession of disappointed hopes and utter failure.

Ironically, the hitherto sustained clamor of communist doctrine has been the restructuring of capitalist, democratic societies. The objective was social justice for all, but specially for the poor working classes. But capitalism and democracy, as the record shows, have made significant strides in alleviating the conditions of the poor, so much so that the numerous class of these societies is the middle-class.

But now it has been realized that it is communist societies themselves which need restructuring. The primary reason for this is that political repression and economic dictation have proved to be obstructive rather than conducive to the well-being of the working classes. Moreover, in suppressing the emergence and advancement of a middle class, communist systems have beggared the other classes as well. A new class, in the words of Milovan Djilas, had been created instead - a new elite of political commissars.

What communist societies have achieved handsomely was parity with the West in weapons of destruction. But at what cost? At the cost of untold suffering, unwarranted scarcities in the necessities of life, and the near destruction of individuality and the human spirit. As one writer put it, "There is the tedium of tyranny in communist societies.

Albert Camus diagnosed accurately the swindle of totalitarianism. As he said, first they say they will give you bread in exchange of freedom. But later, they take away your bread too. Sooner or later, people - no matter how oppressed and denied access to the wider world - wake up and realize the truth that bread and freedom must come together. The emphasis may vary according to conditions, but there cannot be a complete substitution for one to the other. And as people wake up, so do, ultimately, their leaders.

It is in this light that we choose to look at the convulsions of freedom occurring in communist societies today, in the bold measures undertaken by Mikhail Gorbachev at great risk to his leadership. But anyone who will lead his people to freedom must take risks, the risks recognized by Thomas Jefferson when he said the tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure. And as we see now, the people themselves accept the risks of freedom.

In contrast, the gerontocracy in Beijing would rather ruthlessly suppress those who clamor for more freedom than accept the challenge of change. If there are any intellectual and moral supporters of communism left, they too will desert it now as their predecessors did in the wake of the Moscow Trials and the invasion of Hungary and Czechoslovakia. For a time, China seemed to be emerging as a model for development of Third World nations, but it now appears that her leaders cannot stand success. They would not accept the consequences of economic liberalization and its ramifications in the political sphere. For it is but natural for human beings to want more and more of the good things in life. What else is the purpose of the state if it cannot provide these things and create the conditions for their enjoyment?

The state after all belongs to man and not man to the state.

The historical evidence is thus very much against the communist record. Some say that the doctrine is good but that its advocates are wicked. This is an old excuse. The very idea that anything that promotes revolution is good and anything that obstructs it is bad - an idea held in common by communists - reflects an 'idealism' that promotes fanaticism. It breeds what we are pleased to call Polpotism, it leads to the massacres in the Third World countries such as the Philippines, which recently witnessed the paranoic torture and execution of comrades and the indiscriminate murders of civilian populations.

The cruel reality of communist practice is that even its true adherents cannot put much trust in it. Today's comrade is always in danger of being tomorrow's counter-revolutionary. There is no insurance against the vagaries of doctrinal vicissitudes. It is also interesting to note that with communism, every doctrinal dispute has been followed by ruthless repressions. Thus individuals, whatever their past record of patriotism, have been maligned and sacrificed on the altar of the 'correct line.' Never have legions been sacrificed to an idea, whose force, as Mao Zedong aptly described, comes from the barrel of a gun.

Whether in power of struggling for power, communism is an ideology which lives by bloody warfare. It is not an ideology therefore that recommends itself to men of goodwill, of people committed to the end of the exploitation of man by man. As communist parties profess to end this exploitation, they substitute for it the exploitation of man by the party state.

We are far from witnessing now the restructuring of communism, much less its reexamination and review. True, the common impression that Gorbachev's perestroika is an attempt to save communism as a system. But the wave of liberal change that is sweeping the communist community is in the end incompatible with Leninism - the proposition that the communist party is the advance guard of the proletariat. For it is the proletariat itself that is now rejecting the conservatism and dictation of the party. While there is no sign yet of outright rejection of communism as a social ideal, the clear direction of change is towards a change of doctrine. Communist leaders have realized that they cannot ignore the open market both of goods and of ideas. The process, of course, has to be cautious, for it is full of pitfalls, but there cannot be any doubt about its destiny.

Long ago rejected by those that it has subjected to iron rule, established

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How will politics be in 2013 year

Or how will future leaders run their political turfs...

Can we predict the future? If we mean by that the exact configuration of world society, or even of the United States in 2013, not likely. The imponderables are primarily the political-ideological currents that are too complex and not easily charted.

Consider: few analysts before World War II predicted the collapse of the old colonial systems—the British, French, Dutch empires—and the rapid emergence of the Third World and the vast number of new nations that are today relevant actors on the world scene. Few writers a decade ago predicted the transformation of Middle Eastern politics, or the use of terrorism as an instrument of national policy.

The world society is like a set of giant mobiles, shifting in uneasy balances in accordance with the winds of change, but the exact configurations are difficult to capture—especially for 25 years from now.

Presumably there are a few constants. Some individuals will take trends—demographic, resources, economic—and project these. In theory, we ought to know how many people will be on the Earth in the year 2013, or what the state of our resources may be.

But consider the estimates of the U.S. population. Twenty-five years ago demographers projected a population of anywhere between 300 and 320 million by the year 2000, taking the baby boom of the post-World War II years as the norm. That birthrate, however, began to drop off. Today, it is more likely that the U.S. population will be approximately 265 million by the year 2000. World population, which has been growing rapidly, is already beyond the "point of inflection" and is tapering off in its rate of growth.

What, then, is it possible to forecast? Within a limited perspective one may be able to identify *basic*

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communism is now being deserted by its leaders.

Revolutionary communism, however, presents a different question. Defections and desertions from the movement have not been few or insignificant. But there are still countries in the Third World, countries like the Philippines, where the struggle for social justice is still in the form of communist insurgency. There is an emerging consensus that the situation is rooted not in basic appeal of ideology but in the failure of established societies themselves to address the problems which revolutionary communism exploits in order to arouse the masses of poor people. By characterizing these socieites as fascistic, communist agitators succeed in convincing the hungry, the ignorant, and the unsheltered, that their hopes lie with a drastic change in the social system.

Land reform a legitimate issue for centuries, has been appropriated by communists as their program. Graft and corruption has been attributed by them to the system. Crime and disorder, falling standards of living, are attributed to the irresponsible and socially indifferent elites of society. Paradoxically, even the freedom of democratic societies is derided as a weakness. At bottom, the mass poverty in Third World socities aggravates discontent and promotes the false lure of communism.

But what is often overlooked is that outrageous behavior in a revolutionary cannot be anything less than more outrageous behavior once the revolutionary is in power.

This is overlooked because the elites believe that the challenge of communism is primarily a military one. Pious references to 'political solutions' are made but not pursued. The consensus is that it is simply a matter of militarily containing communist guerrillas, of policing conspirators, and, in many instances, stifling radical or revolutionary expression. But it is roads, bridges, schoolhouses, livelihood, and discipline on the part of the military and police, which stop communists. It is, above all, political leaders in constant touch with their constituencies. It is government offices which provide service to the poor and powerless. It is explanation, conviction, and persuasion.

The communists promise an ideal that cannot be attained. Democrats, however, can promise their people (now) a society that works. An imperfect society, no doubt, but one which nevertheless respects the individual and is ever on the side of humanity.

We cannot weary of stating over and over again the modest wisdom of Churchill's words - that democracy is not the best form of government, but the others are much worse, and we should be forewarned by Andrei Vishinsky's castigation: 'Many people love democracy but do not know how to defend it. They take democracy for a lovely lady instead of seeing it as a vigorous comrade.

Other peoples must understand, from the cradle to the grave, that there are no ideal solutions, only people working honestly together in bringing about a better world.

Such an understanding will save us from taking the totalitarian path, a path that never leads to paradise.

The communist desertion is an escape to freedom. S

structural frameworks that are emerging, that form the matrix of people's lives. In the past, an obvious one was the change from an agrarian to an industrial society. At the turn of this century, almost half the population of the United States (the grandparents of many persons still alive) were born on farms; one-third of the labor force worked on farms. Today fewer than four percent of the labor force work on farms, and many of these people do not make their living exclusively from farming. The major reason for the change was the huge increase in agricultural productivity during World War II and after with the introduction of chemical fertilizers and pesticides. As a result, about 25 million persons left the farms. Sharecropping was virtually eliminated, and blacks moved north into central cities. One can see how a small "social system" of interlinked changes works.

What can one say about the world and the United States in 2013? Though an effort at forecasting, this essay is still a cautionary tale in the face of the technological wizardry that has us hurtling into the future without a clear sense of the recalcitrances of people and the constraints of global institutions.

THE SHIFT TO THE PACIFIC RIM

The major question is whether, by the year 2013, the Pacific Basin will be the center of economic power. If so, the East Asian countries led by Japan and China, the Southeast Asian nations, and the United States and the Soviet Union, will be the major economic players in the world.

This is a change of extraordinary historical proportions. Historically, Europe has been the center of economic development and of civilization. The initial matrix was the Mediterranean Basin. After the 17th century, the economic center shifted to the Atlantic rim and the northern-European countries. Since 1970 the shift has been to the Pacific. Today the great expansion in U.S. trade is with the Pacific Rim countries.

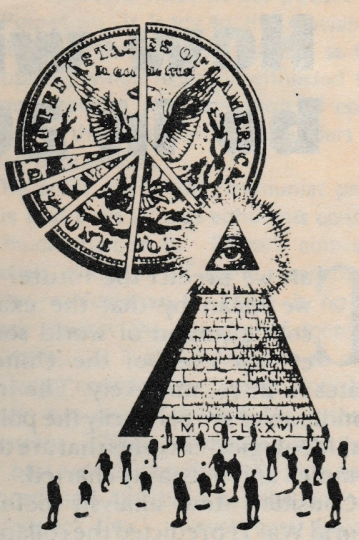
If there is an economic shift, which is probable, will there also be a political shift? And, if so, is it possible for a country to be a major political power without also, in time, becoming a major military power? Unlikely. The major "line of economic force" is from Japan to Australia. Japan has few natural resources and produces little food of its own. Australia has large deposits of coal and uranium; it is a major granary.

The old division of labor, which shaped the world economy for 200 years from 1780 to 1980, created a set of core manufacturing societies (the United Kingdom and Germany, then the United States, then the Soviet Union and Japan), together with a periphery of countries, principally in the Third World, that provided raw materials and primary products for the core countries. This is now breaking up and no simple, single pattern has emerged. Basic industrial manufacturing of standardized mass-production goods is being "pulled out" of the Western world and located in East Asia and, to a lesser extent, in Brazil and the Mexican-Caribbean region.

The United States and Japan have become postindustrial societies; the predominant parts of their economies are the service and high-tech sectors. By 1990, almost 75 percent of the U.S. labor force will be in services. The word *services* conjures up images of fast-food, low-wage employment. This is misleading. The major job areas are financial services, professional and design services, human services (health, education and social services) and, at the low end of the scale, personal services. The core of the postindustrial society lies in its professional and technical services.

There are, in effect, three kinds of manufacturing: first, a materials-based, standardized, low value-added operation in which labor costs are important; second, a flexible batch-production, specialized and customized, high value-added type of production; third, information-based industries (computers, telecommunications, scientific instruments, pharmaceuticals).

In the new manufacturing, the proportion of raw materials steadily diminishes as a percentage of costs. In the advanced countries, the basic change is a move away from heavy, materials-intensive products and processes: forty kilograms of optical fibers in a cable can transmit as many messages as one ton of copper wire. Raw materials diminish in importance, not only because of miniaturization (e.g., computer chips) and the reduction of energy requirements, but also because of the revolution in materials science.



A NEW WORLD MONETARY SYSTEM

If the first change is in the multiple centers of manufacturing, the second is in the centers of finance: the United States has become a headquarters economy for large parts of the world. London, halfway between New York and Tokyo (in time), is becoming a financial-services node.

The chief point is the *internationalization of capital*—a state of affairs symbolized by the vast hoard of "stateless" Eurodollars (dollars held by banks and countries outside the United States) that are not subject to U.S. financial regulation. The existence of this vast hoard means that banking and corporate groups can direct their capital in search of higher returns, even when such action goes against the domestic interests of individual countries. Few countries, if any, are able to control their own currency. This is a loss of one of the main levers of power and influence.

What kind of international monetary system will now come into operation? From the end of World War II until the mid-1970s we had the Bretton Woods system: a gold-backed, dollar-based set of exchange rates. This was broken when the United

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States "exported" its inflation to the rest of the world. When France began demanding gold instead of dollars, the United States reneged, breaking the link. Gold soared and the dollar alone became the international reserve currency, creating wild swings in prices for most countries.

Some new international monetary systems will have to emerge to form the backbone of the new international economy. Gold is a simple solution: prices are denominated in gold; gold is fungible. Yet, it is also subject to manipulation; it cannot function easily as an independent standard outside political controls. Also, gold is largely unavailable to most of the smaller, less-developed countries.

Two other possibilities: a "basket" of major currencies or a "basket of commodities" in which countries deposit and draw credits for them, and an international banking system that would function much as the Federal Reserve does in the United States, as a supercontrol for the national central banks.

All this may seem esoteric; yet, without some new international structural arrangement, the world economy will remain erratic and unstable. A new monetary system does not rule out instabilities, but makes these more manageable within national contexts.

Two further points:

Though we see the free movement of capital internationally, raw-material prices—especially for metals—have been depressed, and may remain so until the end of the century, rising only slowly, thereby limiting the ability of many countries (particularly in Africa) to build a capital base for their own development.

The "hidden iceberg." Though capital is able to move freely, most people do not. If jobs are being dispersed around the world, will people follow the jobs?

TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

By 2013 the third technological revolution—the joining of computers and telecommunications (image television, voice telephone, data-information computers, text facsimile) into a single yet differentiated system, that of the "wired nation" and even the "world society"—will have matured.

In the new manufacturing, raw materials will diminish in importance, not only because of miniaturization and the reduction of energy requirements, but also because of the revolution in materials science.

The first technological revolution, 200 years ago, was the application of steam power to transportation (railroads, steamships), to mining and to machine production in factories. The second technological revolution, 100 years ago, depended upon the spread of electricity (coded messages on wires, telegraph and telephone; lighting; power for turbines and elevators, allowing construction of skyscrapers) and the advancement of chemistry, which for the first time allowed men to make products outside nature (synthetics, petrochemical products, plastics).

The third technological revolution will be aided by natural-language communications, machine translation and certain expert systems. We will have widespread robotics, electronic mail and messages, information retrieval on call, services organized through interactive terminals. The range of possible and probable changes is enormous.

This revolution will result in the elimination of geography as a controlling variable. To illustrate consider the changing nature of markets.

Historically, a market was a place where roads crossed, rivers crossed: merchants and caravans stopped en route, farmers brought their food, artisans their skills. In the new economy this is no longer true. Take the spot oil market. It is called "the Rotterdam market" because tankers with capacities above their contracted deliveries would come to Rotterdam to sell extra oil "on the spot." There, brokers would make their deals and reroute the tankers to the new destinations. The market is no longer in Rotterdam. Where is it? Everywhere. It is a telex-radio-computer network linking brokers all around the world and redirecting ships on the high seas to new destinations.

Work increasingly is becoming detached from place, operations from their central headquarters. Communications networks, with bursts of data speeding thousands of kilometers, mean the breakup of old geographical habits and locations. Thus we see a change of extraordinary historical and sociological importance—the change in the nature of markets from "places" to "networks."

Yet the realization of these technological possibilities may be thwarted by two perhaps intractable difficulties. Most people have tended to focus on problems related to resources (food, energy, water, metals and minerals). I think their fears are somewhat misplaced. There are, however, two structural problems that constitute threatening time bombs.

WHITHER THE NATION-STATE?

Time Bomb 1: Polity. We have today an international economy, heavily interdependent. Yet while the international economy is increasingly integrated, many polities are fragmenting. The process is accordionlike, expanding and contracting at particular moments. In Belgium the fragmentation is linguistic and national; in Canada it is linguistic; in Northern Ireland it is religious; in Spain it is based on local nationalism; in Nigeria it is tribal. In any of these nations the divisions follow the historic "fault lines" of these countries. But because it seems to be happening in so many different places, one ought to suspect a common underlying problem. It is, I believe, this: *the nation-state is becoming too small for the big problems of life, and too big for the small problems of life.*

The nation-state is too small for the big problems because there are no effective international mechanisms to deal with the problems of capital flows, commodity imbalances, the loss of jobs and the several demographic tidal waves that will be devel-

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We have today an international economy, heavily interdependent. Thus, the nation-state is becoming too small for the big problems of life, and too big for the small problems of life.

oping in the next 20 years. But it is too big for the small problems because the flow of power to a national political center means that the nation-state becomes increasingly unresponsive to the variety and diversity of local needs, and local political centers lose the ability to effectively control resources and make their own decisions.

A historical retrospect: what was the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt? For some it was "creeping socialism," for others it was "saving capitalism." Perhaps the central point is that it was a response to a change in scale. From 1900 to 1930, there was a growth in national markets and in national corporations. But the effective economic and countervailing power remained in the hands of the states. The New Deal created effective national mechanisms to deal with national economic problems: a Securities and Exchange Commission to regulate financial markets and a Social Security system to provide a safety net in old age.

There is no such matching of scales today. There are few, if any, effective international economic or coordinating agencies to match international economic power. And given the multiplication of national sovereignties as a result of the breakup of the old colonial system, the nation-state has become increasingly ineffective in coping with economic problems. So we see international economic integration and national political fragmentation.

Time Bomb 2: Demography. World population today is about 5000 million persons. Given present projections, it could double in 40 years, to about 10,000 million. Can we feed all these people? Will there be sufficient jobs? These are the ways the questions are usually put. I suggest that both the estimates and the questions are misplaced.

One should say, first, that we have to disaggregate growth figures. In Europe there will probably be an absolute decline in population. This is already happening in West Germany and in Hungary, and will soon occur in a few other countries. In Africa, and to a lesser extent in Latin America, populations are still surging ahead. The problem in these countries derives less from total numbers—in Africa the ratio of people to land available for cultivation is still manageable—than from the fact of urbanization, the crowding into cities.

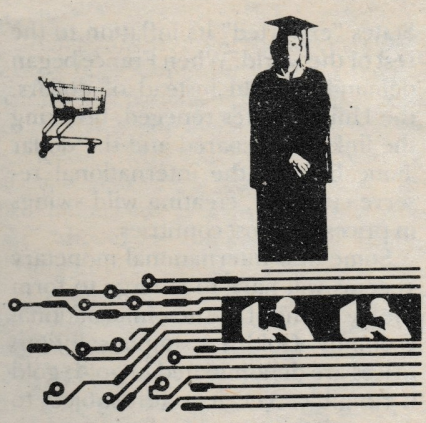
It is in the Third World cities that there is likely to be a problem with the growth of the megalopolis: Mexico City (30 million by the year 2000); Shanghai (25 million); Bombay and Jakarta (about 17 million each). In these cities the problems of infrastructure and services will be severe, as they now are in Cairo and Calcutta.

Still, even that is not the main time bomb. It is this: the widening gap between the age cohorts in different parts of the world. In all of Africa, young people under 15 years of age constitute between 40 and 50 percent of the population. In almost all of Latin America—in particular, in Central America and the Caribbean—young persons make up about 40 percent of the population; in most of Asia, between 30 and 40 percent; in the United States and Canada, about 22 percent. With the exception of Ireland, in Europe this proportion of young people is about 20 percent or below.

These population imbalances mean that, in the next 20 years, we will see demographic tidal waves sweeping the world. In the heavily weighted countries, this will mean more than a doubling of the rates of entry into the labor forces.

THE DEMAND FOR RESOURCES

Contrary to received and popular opinion, resources—meaning food, water, energy, metals and minerals, forests and wetlands, the ozone problem—are not crucial shock areas, or even major constraints. The simple point is that all the estimates are based on projections that overestimate the demand side and are often wildly wrong on the supply side.



Take one example as indicative of the prevailing logic and its shortcomings. The Club of Rome in 1973 predicted the early exhaustion of the world supply of copper. Within a few years, however, the price of copper doubled. At that high price, Israel, Panama and Zaire opened long-dormant mines. Also, with copper at a high price, users began to substitute plastic for copper tubing and to find other substitute materials, such as optical fibers. There is today a glut of copper. Thus the cautionary tale.

Food. Ten years ago there were only about five major exporters of cereals and grains: the United States, Canada, Australia, Argentina and, marginally, one or two other countries. Today, almost every country in the world is just about self-sufficient in food, and seeking export markets. India is a prime example. The only major importer of grains today is the Soviet Union, and that too may change.

Two points: Global 2000, the report on worldwide trends requested by President Carter, concluded that the world demand for food would increase steadily for 20 years, that food production would fall in the developed countries, that real food prices would double. This was in 1980. But global food production has increased everywhere, particularly in the United States. Today we have a worldwide glut.

Energy. Whether we will "run out" of oil by the year 2013 is problematic. Present projections indicate an oil crisis in the early to mid-1990s. By the year 2013, there will be new technologies on the horizon: light-emitting

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diodes, which will replace light bulbs and traffic lights, and superconductivity, which will enlarge power grids, possibly through windmills and solar panels.

Water. A growing problem, especially in the United States, but largely a problem because of waste and mismanagement and pollution. Again, not a resource problem primarily, but an economic and political one: the need for better management of scarce resources.

Can one draw an integral, coherent picture of the world in 2013? Given simply the political imponderables sketched here, the answer is no. But if one wishes to concentrate on the principal problems, the most explicit ones would be the demographic, age-cohort imbalances. The most diffuse yet crucial one would be political fragmentation. Of the structural changes, the rise of the Pacific Rim is clearly the major change in the offing, and it is of extraordinary historic and economic importance.

THE UNITED STATES IN 2013

The outlines of the United States in 2013, and its problems, can already be seen from the chiaroscuro sketch of the world in 2013. Americans are not immune to the shocks of the world society. In fact, they are ever more vulnerable—and that is the most obvious starting point. Most of the earnings of the major corporations depend on investments and sales abroad; large amounts of foreign capital are now invested in the United States, inextricable from domestic capital; the capital markets are international; increasingly, most U.S. enterprises abroad are not multinational but joint ventures with foreign companies.

Geographically, the United States is becoming a bicoastal economy. The 16 coastal states contain 42 percent of the nation's population today. In the 1980s, this grouping accounted for 70 percent of the real growth in wages and partnership income.

This framework will continue: in effect, the midwestern states may be stuck in an economic "long wave" and sit in the trough. The reasons are obvious: the decline of standard manufacturing, of farming and of energy.

Think of it, however, in more historic terms. Almost all major cities are located near water, since water was the basis of bulk transportation and of roads that circumvented mountains. (Can one think of any major city not located on an ocean, lake or river?) The location of cities in an industrial society was determined by an interplay of water transport and resources.

If there is a widespread consensus in Western societies, it is on the idea that individual and local community choice in as many matters as possible is a desirable value.

Look at the new patterns. Route 128, a highway around Boston, with its high-tech firms, and the software firms still in the city center, close to the universities. Silicon Valley, stretching from San Francisco to San Jose. In New Jersey, Route 1, from Newark to Trenton, with Princeton at its center, is one of the fastest-growing regions in the United States.

To the extent that the new communications technology makes interaction easier and less costly, we may also see the breakup of existing work patterns (e.g., more people working part-time at home, new patterns of hourly work). The idea of "cottage industries" is too slick and simple. There will be many more-variegated patterns.

New England has been the model of transition. Historically, it was a light-manufacturing center, basically producing textiles and shoes, but these industries are lost. Today it has become a major high-tech center. Can other regions do the same? That depends on the world economy and international political stability. There are huge potential markets for the new technologies.

The need now is for effective decentralization. Without it, the United States in the year 2013 will be in disarray. Successive administrations, from Nixon to Reagan, have talked of returning functions to the states and counties. But what sense does this make? The United States is a nation of 50 states. In Texas, the distance between Brownsville in the south and Amarillo in the northwest is the same as the distance between Brussels and Warsaw. Yet there also are small states: Delaware, Rhode Island, Connecticut. The problem of providing services to people in an effective way, of being responsive to the diversity of needs—from care for the elderly, concentrated in some areas, to the needs of minorities in other places—becomes increasingly difficult to manage. And the costs mount dreadfully.

Clearly, no one is going to do away with the states, and for good traditional and emotional reasons. Yet various bistate compacts and regional forms of organization must be worked out so that the 50 states do not become too lopsided and rigid in their structures.

THE CHANGING FACE OF AMERICA

Today some 28 million Americans are 65 years of age or older, making up 12 percent of the population. Given the "bulge" of the baby-boom years, by the year 2020, the elderly will number about 60 million and make up about 20 percent of the population. Not only will there be more Americans; they will, of course, live longer. A new problem: people over the age of 85 now make up only nine percent of the elderly population. By 2013, this may grow to 17 percent.

The consequences of these changes are varied but visible. At one end of the scale, increased chronic dependency and greater health-care needs of the elderly, with a growing burden on the young; at the other, a greater proportion of working-age persons to retired persons (more older persons will work, since Congress has now suspended even the compulsory retirement limit of age 70).

The United States has always been a nation of immigrants. Today the mix is changing. Half the increases in population will be coming from immigrants. Given the changes in the laws, the majority are from Latin America; a small but important number are from Asia.

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By the year 2013, the white population will be about 74 percent of the total population of about 265 million. Blacks will make up about 13 percent, with 35 million; Hispanics about 10 percent, with 25 million. The Hispanic population already has grown by about 40 percent since 1970 because of fertility and immigration.

What can one say about the future of the American labor force? The basic blue-collar class, which today is about 20 percent of the labor force and concentrated in manufacturing, will decrease to about 10 percent by the year 2013 as manufacturing employment goes down. The growing classes are managerial and professional, and service—services here being food, cleaning, personal (barbers, etc.) and security—which all together rose 50 percent in the decade. (From 1970 to 1980, 14.3 million new jobs were created in services, and almost no net increase occurred in manufacturing employment.) The biggest growth in employment has come in small businesses rather than in large corporations, and this trend will continue.

To stand back, however, and draw the picture more sharply, I suggest that there will be a four-tiered system, taking this shape:

(a) an upper-middle class of professional and managerial workers, about 25 percent of the population;

(b) a middle class of technical, administrative support and skilled workers, representing 35 percent of the population;

(c) a service class, about 25 percent of the population; and

(d) an underclass of about 15 percent, comprising individuals with no steady employment, doing odd jobs, menial labor and the like.

We may see, equally, a new politics whose dimensions cut across each other and make continuing groupings difficult. The most important social change in this regard is the new role of women. On the professional level, women are concentrated more in the health and teaching and public-sector professions than are men, and employment in those areas is highly dependent on public funding. Generational politics becomes more important: the elderly are now an increasingly cohesive bloc whose interests are largely untouchable. The increasing mobilization of the minority groups is more certain. Regional issues will become more salient. The polarization of society based on educational cutoffs may increase populist sentiments. The down-sizing of the manufacturing corporation and the spread of more small businesses will increase the hopes and the expectations of independence for many persons, yet the short half-life of many small firms and the upheavals in corporate structures will intensify the insecurity of employment and incomes.

Sociology, which once could give us intelligent reportage, today has narrowed into minute quantitative research with little resonance or capacity for generalization. Yet the traditional social structure of the United States is breaking up, and we have little mapping of the present and fewer guides for the future.

VISIONS OF THE FUTURE

The key variable for the future is scale. Societies work when the scales of institutions match—particularly economic and political institutions. Increasingly, these are out of sync. On the international canvas, we need the creation of new institutions, politically, that can match the new scale of economic activities, beginning with the monetary system. At the domestic end, we need a better definition of what kind of governmental activities and resources should be committed, and at what levels, to make government responsive to services that people need. What is a legitimate neighborhood function? Should it be entrusted to a larger entity? Many services now performed by government for historic or political reasons can probably be better performed by the market.

I have said little of Europe, or Africa, or Latin America—which may lead to the false conclusion that I see them as now outside the stage of history. Not at all. The very nature of the structural economic issues may force a movement toward continental economies as the new units of trade and management.

Consider the North American continent: Canada has the natural resources (timber, energy, metals), the United States the technological skill and educational resources, and Mexico the labor for such a new structure. Treating the area as a common economic region certainly would not solve all of the continent's problems, but it would be a start—certainly preferable to protectionism.

The vision of Europe as a single economic and cultural entity has long been the dream of many. In the instances of Western Europe and Japan, the economic issues have been subordinated to security and military issues, as both areas have largely been under the American shield. If security and military tensions were to diminish, the economic and cultural logics might have freer play: the possibility of a true European community could be a reality by 2013.

The social and political side of scale is the move away from bigness and bureaucracy. If there is a widespread consensus in Western societies, it is on the idea that individual and local community choice in as many matters as possible is a desirable value. It is the basis for the reaction to centralized planning or dirigisme in the socialist countries, and the reaction to rigid welfare-state programs and bureaucracies in the democratic countries. Privatization in the economy and provision of resources for communities to make their own decisions about social needs and welfare actually go hand in hand, though one is regarded as conservative and the other as socialist. The nature of the new production technologies does favor a new kind of artisan-entrepreneur system exploiting niche technologies and specialized markets.

As one reflects back to the kinds of predictions made by our rash forebears, one is mindful not only of the contingency of events created by the roles of powerful personalities and powerful ideas, but also of the dashing of hopes as new elites consolidate power and frustrate the dreams of people to create more equitable societies. A disciplined effort to identify structural changes—in the face of the overwhelming weight of political and cultural imponderables—leads one to a sense of the futility of such "rational" efforts. It is like holding a small candle in a hurricane to see if there are any paths ahead and how to go forth. But if one cannot light and hold even a small candle, then there is only darkness before us. S

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